1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 621 724 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A [534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was [202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 579 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, • [576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu- [492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very 493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously 491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing,[5] making pottery, and weaving basketry.

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards.

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house.

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. guyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awu), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kallai (quillay, Quillaja *saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean.

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler."

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom.

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka.

COURTESY, SHARING, GREEDINESS

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands.

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

857 576 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñe fi penen" or "Kimñe pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche ŋen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a mechatun for you. There has been no mechatun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the pillatun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, accord- 576
ing to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality."

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In 574
general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that."

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it.

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with 301
silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles.

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by 864
their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being 684
hanged.

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present 576
study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

576 tains is treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented my assistant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would make a good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." Always persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from everyone when using a handkerchief.

In general, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demonstrating activities or showing objects that we were learning about. Specimen plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demonstrated; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, walked long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried our luggage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated to make a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would take too much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in making the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. When we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." He thought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I shall make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he returned with the cradle (pl. 74, *1*, *2*) and explained how he had made it. This done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This is for you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him Kolupan."

574 Hospitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so today. Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one adopted from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we arrived in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to express a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped by someone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with a man in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering it, he made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my assistant, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, "Now let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, often by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our arrival at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, *1*), he walked briskly toward us, shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had arrived, and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and children had quickly prepared benches for us.

An expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to yerba maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up these mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté with a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught

Death and

the meal wh
be offered to
who arrive before
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or
in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the
llañi, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of
the deceased's immediate family (or by several family mem-
bers). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending
appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest
extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family
status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.